

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AID-05 EB-07 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01

CEA-01 /092 W

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P 251300Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7989

INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 1241

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, RH, US, UK

SUBJECT: VIEWS OF NDABANINGI SITHOLE

REF: A) DAR ES SALAAM 1194; AND B) LUSAKA 747 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: IN HOUR LONG MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR, ANC (AND FORMER ZANU) LEADER NDABANINGI SITHOLE URGED GREATER US PRESSURE IN AID OF PEACEFUL RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT, AS ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO RENEWED ARMED STRUGGLE, AND PEOPLE WERE GETTING VERY IMPATIENT. IN PARTICULAR, HE SUGGESTED US PUT PRESSURE ON UK BY THREAT OF TRANSFERRING RESPONSIBILITY FOR RHODESIA TO UN, AND THEREBY INDUCE BRITAIN TO AT LEAST MAKE BLUFF OF BRITISH (MILITARY) INTERVENTION. HE COMMENTED ON CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, ANC UNITY, AND ZAMBIAN REACTION TO CHITEPO ASSASSINATION, AND AGREED RENEW CONTACT WITH EMBASSY WHEN

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HE RETURNS FROM LUSAKA IN TWO TO THREE WEEKS. END SUMMARY.

2. REV. SITHOLE CALLED ON ME AT HIS REQUEST APRIL 25 TO URGE GREATER US PRESSURE TO OBTAIN MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND TO GIVE USG HIS VIEWS ON CURRENT SITUATION. SITHOLE IS SETTING UP ANC OFFICE IN TANZANIA, BUT PLANS RETURN TO LUSAKA APRIL 26 FOR TWO OR THREE WEEK STAY, AFTER WHICH HE WILL COME BACK TO DAR ES SALAAM.

3. THRUST OF SITHOLE'S PRESENTATION, IN HOUR LONG CONVERSATION, WAS THAT ANC IS FOLLOWING THE DUAL TACTICS, NOW ENDORSED BY OAU, OF SEEKING MAJORITY RULE BY PEACEFUL MEANS IF POSSIBLE BUT BY ARMED STRUGGLE IF NECESSARY. PRESSURES TO SHIFT OVER AGAIN TO ARMED STRUGGLE WERE INCREASING, FANNED BY DISILLUSIONMENT WITH RESULTS TO DATE OF THE PEACEFUL ROUTE AND GROWING IMPATIENCE WITH IT ON PART OF RISING GENERATION OF ZIMBABWE YOUTH, AND DECISION MUST BE MADE SOON. HE, THEREFORE, URGED US TO PLAY MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN APPLYING PRESSURE TO OBTAIN RAPID SETTLEMENT ON BASIS MAJORITY RULE, POINTING OUT THAT THIS WOULD BE IN LINE WITH OUR DESIRE FOR NON-VIOLENCE, WHICH HE SHARED.

4. HE WAS LESS CLEAR AS TO WHAT SPECIFICALLY USG COULD OR SHOULD DO TO THIS END, AT TIMES SUGGESTING THAT A MERE ACT OF WILL BY A SUPERPOWER LIKE US SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT, AND SAID THAT EVEN IF US QUOTE CAME OUT VERBALLY FOR MAJORITY RULE NOW UNQUOTE IT WOULD HAVE AN IMPORTANT EFFECT. AS IT WAS, RHODESIAN WHITES WERE TAKING COMFORT FROM US AND FROM VARIOUS TYPES OF ENCOURAGEMENT THEY GET FROM TIME TO TIME FROM AMERICANS. AMONG HIS SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS WERE, OF COURSE, REPEAL OF BYRD AMENDMENT (THOUGH HE FELT THAT QUOTE DAMAGE HAD ALREADY BEEN DONE UNQUOTE) AND PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA FOR WITHDRAWAL OF POLICE (THOUGH HE EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE IN ZAMBIAN FONMIN MWAANGA'S STATEMENT THAT THIS WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY MAY).

5. SITHOLE PLACED GREATEST STRESS, HOWEVER, ON PRESSURE WE SHOULD PUT ON BRITAIN. ASKED WHAT BRITISH COULD REASONABLY BE EXPECTED TO DO, SHORT OF SENDING IN TROOPS, SITHOLE SUGGESTED WHAT WAS TO ME, AT LEAST, A NOVEL THEORY. BRITAIN REMAINED, HE SAID, THE QUOTE ULTIMATE COLONIAL POWER UNQUOTE  
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IN THE SITUATION, BUT WITH GROSS IRRESPONSIBILITY HAS FAILED TO INTERVENE, AND LEFT IMPRESSION THAT IT WILLING TO LET BLACKS AND WHITES FIGHT IT OUT. THIS GIVES WHITE RHODESIANS A FEELING OF SECURITY THAT THEY ARE STILL LIVING UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION.

6. US AND OTHER POWERS, SITHOLE THOUGHT, SHOULD THREATEN TO DECLARE BRITAIN'S QUOTE ULTIMATE COLONIAL RESPONSIBILITY UNQUOTE

(WHICH HE SEEMED TO FEEL BRITAIN VALUED) FORFEITED BECAUSE OF BRITISH INACTION, AND TRANSFERRED TO SOME OTHER INTITY SUCH AS THE UN. THE PROSPECT OF THIS TAKING PLACE WOULD EXERT PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE ON WHITE RHODESIANS AFRAID OF BEING TAKEN OUT FROM UNDER BRITISH UMBRELLA, AND ALSO MIGHT INDUCE BRITISH TO RESUME THEIR RESPONSIBILITY AND THREATEN -- EVEN IF IT WERE ONLY A THREAT -- TO INTERVENE (PRESUMABLY MILITARILY), WHICH WOULD HAVE FURTHER PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT ON WHITE RHODESIANS AND WOUULD REVERSE THE EFFECTS OF THE BRITISH PUBLIC REFUSAL TO USE FORCE WHICH HAD LED T UDI IN THE FIRST PLACE.

7. DURING THIS PART OF DISCUSSION, I EXPRESSED DOUBTS THAT BRITAIN WOULD HAVE MORE THAN A FORMAL ROLE (AS IN REQUESTING END OF SANCTIONS OR FORMALLY GRANTING INDEPENDENCE AFTER A SETTLEMENT) IN THE DEVELOPING RHODESIAN SITUATION. I ALSO RECEIVED SOME OF THE ACTIVE STEPS THE USG HAD TAKEN ON BEHALF OF RHODESIAN SELF-DETERMINATION, AND NOTABLY OUR WITHDRAWAL OF OUR CONSULATE GENERAL IN SALISBURY IN 1970, WHICH HAD BEEN CRITICAL IN INDUCING THE OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS (EXCEPT PORTUGAL) TO DO THE SAME. I ALSO RECEIVED THE US ADMINISTRATION'S OPPOSITION FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE BYRD AMENDMENT, AND DISCUSSED OUR SYSTEM OF SEPARATE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE POWERS. IN DISCUSSING THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE IN RHODESIA, I NOTED THAT WE HAD INDEED SUPPORTED THEIR WITHDRAWAL AND HAD MADE REPRESENTATIONS TO THAT EFFECT. FINALLY, I ASSURED SITHOLE THAT WE WERE VERY INTERESTED IN FINDING NEW WAYS TO ASSIST IN OBTAINING A NON-VIOLENT SETTLEMENT, AND WOULD VALUE HIS CONTINUING IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS.

8. ON THE SUBJECT OF TALKS WITH THE SMITH REGIME, SITHOLE SAID THAT THE DETAINED LEADERS -- AFTER BEING RELEASED IN DECEMBER, 1974 -- HAD HAD TWO MEETINGS TO DISCUSS THE VENUE, CHAIRMANSHIP, TIMING, AND DELEGATION SIZE OF THE PROPOSED  
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CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON THE SIZE OF DELEGATIONS, BUT ON NOTHING ELSE. ON VENUE, SMITH WANTED CONFERENCE INSIDE RHODESIA (ASSERTING PRESSURE OF HIS OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES), AND NATIONALISTS WANTED IT OUTSIDE WHERE BOTH SIDES COULD MEET ON MORE OR LESS EQUAL FOOTING. BOTSWANA-ZAMBIA-TANZANIA-MOZAMBIQUE WERE SUGGESTED (SITHOLE DID NOT SAY BY WHOM) BUT THIS WOULDN'T BE NEUTRAL EITHER BECAUSE OF THE PRESENCE OF GUERRILLA FORCES IN THOSE COUNTRIES. BRITAIN OR SWITZERLAND WOULD PERHAPS BE APPROPRIATE. THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT ON TIMING, AND THE SMITH GOVERNMENT REFUSED TO AGREE TO THE NECESSITY OF AN INDEPENDENT CHAIRMAN TO ALLOCATE TIME, SPEAKERS, ETC. JUST AS THIRD MEETING WAS TO TAKE PLACE, SITHOLE WAS REDETAINED AND THERE HAVE BEEN NO TALKS SINCE END OF FEBRUARY. THE FIRST TALKS HAD BEEN HELD EVEN THOUGH SMITH HAD ONLY PARTIALLY MET NATIONALIST PRECONDI-

TIONS; BUT SINCE THE REDETENTIONS, PEOPLE ARE WONDERING WHAT GOOD TALKS ARE LIKELY TO BE. THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES ARE STILL FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT: WHITES INSIST ON POWER REMAINING IN WHAT THEY CALL QUOTE CIVILIZED HANDS UNQUOTE, WHICH MEANS THEIR KEEPING POWER AT ALL COSTS, WHILE AFRICANS INSIST ON MAJORITY RULE.

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9. ASKED ABOUT THE ANC CONGRESS, SITHOLE SAID IT WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN HELD IN MARCH, BUT HAD BEEN POSTPONED BECAUSE OF THE REORGANIZATION OF THE NEW ANC. IT IS NECESSARY TO REORGANIZE ALL THE BRANCH , DISTRICT, AND PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATIONS SO THAT THEY WILL REFLECT THE VIEWS OF ALL THE PEOPLE. ANC WOULD NOW LIKE T SETTLE THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION FIRST, AND HOLD THE CONGRESS LATER.

10. I ASKED SITHOLE WHETHER LUSAKA UNITY AGREEMENT BEARING FRUIT IN PRINCIPLE, EVEN IF REORGANIZATION STILL UNDER WAY,

OR WHETHER ZANU AND ZAPU STILL TRYING TO OPERATE SEPARATE POLICIES. SITHOLE REPLIED THAT DESPITE CONTINUED DIFFERENCES OF IDEOLOGY AND METHOD, THE COMMON FRONT WAS WORKING AND BADLY NEEDED, AND THE GROUPS WERE GETTING CLOSER TOGETHER. FOR EXAMPLE, OLD ANC COULD HAVE SETTLED FOR PARITY OR EVEN LESS, BUT NOW THEREIS AGREEMENT THAT ONLY THING TO TALK

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ABOUT IN THE ANC DEMAND FOR QUOTE MAJORITY RULE NOW UNQUOTE IS THE QUOTE NO UNQUOTE, SINCE QUOTE MAJORITY RULE UNQUOTE IS NOT NEGOTIABLE. IF THERE ARE TALKS, THEY WILL ONLY BE ABOUT TIMING.

11. QUERIED ABOUT HIS OPINION OF THE GRZ REACTION TO CHITEPO'S ASSASSINATION, SITHOLE SAID THAT IT WAS OF COURSE IMPERATIVE THAT ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD INVESTIGATE THE KILLING, AND IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT SOME PEOPLE SHOULD BE ARRESTED. WHAT WAS WORRYING PEOPLE WAS THE WAY IT WAS DONE, WITH HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE ARRESTED.

12. FINALLY, I ASKED WHETHER ANC EXPECTED BISHOP MUZOREWA TO BE ONLY A TEMPORARY LEADER, AS MUZOREWA HAD ONCE INTIMATED, SITHOLE SAID THAT ANC ACCEPTED THAT MUZOREWA PLANNED TO STAY ON ONLY TEMPORARILY, AND THAT HE SEEMED TO PREFER HIS EPISCOPAL TO HIS POLITICAL DUTIES, BUT THAT OF COURSE NO ONE COULD BE CERTAIN OF THIS.

13. AS HE LEFT, I ASSURED SITHOLE OF USG CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR SUCCESSFUL AND NON-VIOLENT ACHIEVEMENT OF RHODESIAN SELF-DETERMINATION, AND THAT US WAS NOT OPPOSED TO THE ANC. I ASKED THAT HE CALL ON ME AGAIN ON HIS RETURN FROM LUSAKA, SO WE COULD COONTINUE OUR EXCHANGE ON A BYSIS OF CANDOR AND FRIENDSHIP. SITHOLE PROMISED TO DO SO. IN PARTING, HE SAID HE WANTED REASSURE ME ANC BELIEVES IN NON-RACIALISM, AND IN A FREE ZIMBABWE WHICH WILL BE A HOME FOR MEN, AND NOT FOR ANY ONE RACE. HE HAD BEEN BADLY MISCONSTRUED DURING HIS TEN YEARS IN JAIL -- AS A GIMMICK OF THE RHODESIAN FRONT -- AND FALSELY PAINTED AS A MONSTER WHO LIKES TO EAT WHITE CHILDREN; THIS SEEMED TO HAVE INFLUENCED SOME PEOPLE IN THE US AND UK.

14. COMMENT: ADVANCE COPY OF LUSAKA'S TELEGRAM 747 REACHED ME JUST AS OUR MEETING GOT UNDER WAY, AND ALTHOUGH I WAS ABLE TO SCAN IT QUICKLY I COULD ONLY GET IN SOME OF THE POINTS SUGGESTED. HOPE TO HAVE FURTHER OPPORTUNITIES WHEN SITHOLE RETURNS HERE. EMBASSY LUSAKA MAY HAVE FURTHER CHANCE SEE HIM THERE. OBVIOUSLY, SITHOLE WANTS TO CONVINCE US FOR NEED FOR MORE US PRESSURE IF RHODESIAN SITUATION IS NOT TO RETURN TO ONE OF ARMED STRUGGLE, AND HE THEREFORE STRESSING IMMINENCE OF THIS OCCURRING AND UNITY OF ANC IN ACCEPTING RENEWED FIGHTING

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IS NECESSARY. I HAVE DISTINCT DOUBTS ABOUT HIS SUGGESTIONS RE  
THE BRITISH; SEEMS IMPROBABLE AT THIS DATE THEY WOULD  
RENEW TALK OF ARMED INTERVENTION, EVEN AS A BLUFF. AS  
TO TRANSFER OF QUOTE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY UNQUOTE,  
IT IS HARD TO SAY WHETHER CONVERTING RHODESIA INTO A  
SORT OF NAMIBIA WOULD HAVE MUCH EFFECT ON THE WHITE  
POPULATION, AND IT WOULD BRING A LOT OF NEW AND NOT  
NECESSARILY HELPFUL PLAYERS INTO THE ACT; MOREOVER, IT  
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NOT ACCEPT SUCH A PROPOSAL WITH ALACRITY AS A GRACEFUL WAY  
OUT.

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## Message Attributes

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